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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to give an account of the position of English in Finland, where both Swedish and Finnish are official languages and taught in the schools of both Swedish and Finnish areas of the country. To provide a better understanding of the position of English, a brief historical sketch is provided, with emphasis on the development of bilingualism and recommendations regarding instruction in both languages. The discussion of bilingualism includes a discussion of the emergence of language groups; quantitative trends; sociological patterns of bilingualism including education, marriage, and home language; and social institutions and patterns of social interaction. The section on language teaching policy discusses quantitative trends in the study of the official languages as well as English, German, Russian, and French, and the development of language teaching policy. Finally, the position of English in society and in the educational system is discussed. It is noted that growing contacts between Finland and the other European countries and the United States have meant the growing influence of English and the growing impact of Anglo-American cultural models. Numerous statistical tables are appended. (Author/AMH)

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1. Introduction

This paper will attempt to give an account, in a case study format, of the position of English in Finland. The main emphasis is on its position in the educational system of the country. Some notes are made concerning the degree to which Finns are exposed to English outside of the educational system. Similarly, some aspects of the contacts between Finnish and English are briefly mentioned.

The position of English in Finland cannot be properly understood without a historical perspective. For this reason, developments in language policy are discussed in some detail. The extent and nature of bilingualism in Finland are described, with special emphasis given to the position of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

The fact that neither of the two official languages of the country, Finnish and Swedish, can be used as a medium of wider international communication (the use of Finnish is limited to national communication and the use of Swedish to the Scandinavian context, and with serious intelligibility problems as far as Danish is concerned), has always created problems for the Finnish educational system. Several foreign languages must be taught and they take a substantial part of all class time. Since they are usually also considered demanding and difficult subjects, it is not surprising that foreign languages have always been a topic of debate in Finland. One of the consequences of this is that Finland has found it necessary in recent years to devote considerable attention to matters of language teaching policy. Developments in this area are also briefly discussed in this case study.

2. Issues and Developments in Language Policy

The issues and developments related to language policy in Finland cannot be understood without providing a historical background. This will be briefly sketched in this first chapter.

There have been several waves of migration to Finland going back to 4000 B.C. and even earlier according to archeological findings. These people probably spoke a Finno-Ugric language as did those people who moved from the Baltic around the beginning of the Christian era. Swedish-speaking people have lived on the western and southern coast permanently from about 1000 B.C. but there had been at least temporary settlements hundreds of years before. The Catholic religion was spread from Sweden to Finland and by the end of the 13th century Sweden had extended its rule to the eastern parts of the country. The eastern parts of the country, Karelia, showed a much clearer influence of Kiev and Novgorod and adopted the eastern form of Christianity (Greek Orthodox). Due to the strong role of the German Hansa trade, German was frequently used, especially in the town of Viipuri (Viborg) in Karelia and German was sometimes used in official documents submitted to the courts there. It was also used there in some schools as the language of instruction.

The majority of the population spoke only Finnish, especially in all areas off the coast. It has been estimated that there were about 70,000 Swedish-speaking people living in Finland around 1600 (approximately 17.5% of the entire population). The maximum absolute number of Swedish-speaking Finns was about 355,000 in 1940 (9.5%) and has slowly decreased, mainly due to migration to Sweden, to about 300,000 in 1980 (6.3%). (For more detailed information on demographic trends, see Table 3.) They have always lived in the coastal areas in western and southern Finland.

Bilingualism was quite frequent among clergymen, officers, business people and artisans in coastal towns. Finnish was used occasionally in official contexts. The growing dominance of Swedish can probably be attributed mostly to Sweden's becoming a major European power due to several military conquests. This also brought along increased economic and cultural activity with more need for written documentation. Earlier many official transactions had been handled orally and then Finnish could also be used. This development was sealed in the school ordinance of 1649 which made Swedish the language of

instruction (in addition to Latin that had earlier been used) but made no provision for Finnish. In the 1700's Swedish became the sole language of instruction in secondary education.

Thus the growing dominance of Swedish in Finland is largely due to the process of modernization and bureaucratization of a growing political power. More civil servants were needed to manage the growing written records and many came from Sweden. When Russia occupied Finland at the beginning of the 18th century, many civil servants fled to Sweden and grew accustomed to speaking only Swedish. Many did not return when the hostilities were over and were replaced by civil servants born and raised in Sweden.

After some 700 years of Swedish rule, Finland became part of the imperial Russia in 1809 after Russia's victorious war against Sweden. While the war was still going on, Czar Alexander I convened the diet in the spring of 1809 and promised to uphold the current law, the social order and special privileges. In his words "Finland was raised to the rank of a nation" (placé désormais au rang des nations). The position of Finland as a Grand-Duchy was unique: a loose personal union with the Czar, represented by a Governor General, with its own government (senate), its old law and law courts, its own money and central bank, and its independent foreign trade. The exception to this autonomy was foreign and military policy. Such a favorable treatment had its rewards: Finland remained loyal and calm during the Polish uprisings in 1830 and 1863 and during the Crimean War of 1853-1855. Numerous Finns obtained high ranks in Russian civil service and army whereas Finnish civil service was not open to Russians. Russian was first made compulsory in schools but became optional in 1862. The relatively independent status of Finland can be illustrated further by the fact that in the early 20th century several political figures, including Lenin, took refuge to Finland to escape imprisonment.

During the first decades of the Russian regime cultural influences from Europe gave birth to romantic nationalism among the educated classes in Finland. This had been preceded by an attempt, which had a parallel earlier in Sweden, to glorify Finland's position as a nation. This movement, called Fennophileism, tried to show (e.g., Daniel Juslenius's "Aboa vetus et nova" (1700) - "Old and New Åbo," capital of Finland) that Finns could be traced back to Babel, and how they were the descendants of Japhet, who under the leadership of Magog had settled Finland (Laitinen, 1981). The later stage of the national romantic movement was strongly influenced by the German philosophers Herder and Hegel. One of the most ardent "Fennomans" was Adolf Ivar Arwidsson, who crystallized the position of the large Finnish-speaking majority in a slogan:

"We are not Swedes, we do not want to become Russians, let us be Finns." The most influential voice in the language debate was that of Johan Vilhelm Snellman often called Finland's national philosopher, who studied in Germany and was strongly influenced by hegelianism. In a number of books and articles Snellman outlined his rationale for "national awakening."

According to Snellman, culture which is not national, cannot be real, general human culture. It remains external behavior, like the conditioning of a dog or an ape. Such culture lacks independence and all power to develop. The culture of an entire nation cannot be mere imitation, borrowed from other nations, but must instead have its own form derived from its own national spirit. But the independent culture of a nation must be expressed in its own language. Language is such a product of culture that it expresses a nation's peculiar way of conceptualizing things and their causes, mentally portraying and thinking of sensory and extrasensory things. A nation can become aware of itself and of its particular nature only through engaging in cultural pursuits - including science and literature - in its own language. In Snellman's words:

> It may be thought: a sound is merely a sound, a language is like another language, they only express the same thoughts in different ways. But a human being does not only express his thoughts in words; he believes and feels, knows and wills in his words; his thoughts, his whole rational being moves and lives in language. How could the spirit of a nation express itself in any other language than its own?

In the 1860's the old system of the four estates - the aristocracy, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants - was replaced more and more clearly by linguistic representation in the senate: the Finnish party, the Swedish party and the Liberals. Many Swedish-speaking people, who were in favor of developing culture in the Finnish language, were against rapid changes, since they thought that Swedish culture was the main guarantee of the preservation of western culture in Finland. Finnish was considered an undeveloped language, which could not easily be used to express cultured ideas and thoughts. There were also some voices warning about the negative effects if the Finns "prone to collectivism, passivity, and suggestion" were to dominate at the expense of Swedish-speaking people known for their "Germanic spirit of nation-building, energy, and manliness" (Allardt and Starck, 1981).

The complicated and prolonged cultural struggle, "the language feud," ended in victory for the Fennomans. This was concretized in the Language Edict of 1863, issued by Czar Alexander II in his capacity as the Grand Duke of Finland,

that insured the Finnish language equal status with Swedish in official transactions. A grace period of twenty years was granted due to the deficient knowledge of Finnish by many civil servants. Development in other areas was also rapid. Finnish became an elective school subject in secondary schools in 1841, the first Finnish-speaking secondary school was founded in Jyväskylä in 1858, and the first training school for Finnish-speaking primary school teachers in the same town in 1983.

The idyllic situation as the autonomous Grand Duchy ended towards the end of the 19th century. In 1890 the postal system of Finland was incorporated with that of Russia and the final blow came in February 1899 when the Czar declared in the so-called Manifesto of February that Finland's special privileges were cancelled. The purpose was to make Finland a closer part of Russia, give Russian citizens the same rights as Finnish citizens had (codified in the Equal Status Act of 1912). Russian was made the official language of the Senate, government agencies, and in some schools, and the number of lessons for the teaching of Russian in schools was increased (1900). All these measures were strongly resented and resisted, and the old loyalist attitudes turned to a spirit of opposition and created a slowly growing movement that stressed the need for national independence.

The link with Russia was severed in 1917, when the new Soviet regime acknowledged Finland's declaration of independence. This happened after a period of armed conflict, which is variably called the war of national liberation or the civil war depending on what aspect is emphasized.

In the new republic the positions of Finnish and Swedish differed greatly from the situation in the previous century. The language edict of 1902 had already laid down that in monolingual communities the local language was to be used in official contexts, in bilingual communities the language of the majority was to be used, and all citizens had the right to handle their cases in court in their mother tongue. Since 1902, which finally secured the rights of the Finnish-speaking majority, the major issue in language policy has been how to maintain Swedish as a national and functional language in Finland.

The Constitution (1919) guarantees that Finnish and Swedish are the national languages of the republic. Each citizen has the right to use his or her mother tongue in all official contexts in matters that concern him or her. Such rights, and the material and cultural needs of both language groups, are to be satisfied on equal basis. The linguistic status of each local unit of self-government is determined by the Language Act of 1922, amended in 1975 in the

interest of the Swedish-speaking minority. The community is bilingual if the minority amounts to 8% of the total population or is at least 3000 people. The status of each community is assessed every ten years, after the national census. A community cannot be declared monolingual unless the share of the minority has dropped below 6%, and the Government can grant special dispensation for ten years even if that figure is not reached. Such regulations make the language policy of Finland comparatively speaking one where the rights of a linguistic minority are very effectively protected. The Province of Åland Islands was recognized to belong to Finland and it was demilitarized by the decision of the League of Nations (1921). The population was guaranteed a high degree of autonomy and the position of Swedish was given strong unilingual guarantees.

The Lapps (Sámis), the autochthonous population of the northern part of the whole of Scandinavia, speak a language which is related to Finno-Ugric languages. The Sámi language and Finnish are, however, mutually unintelligible. Sámi people live in Norway (30,000), Sweden (15,000), Finland (5,000) and the Soviet Union (2,000). The language rights of the Sámi people are not officially recognized although some arrangements have been made quite recently to have instruction in their own language and make Sámi a school subject as well. This has been facilitated by the fact that the Sámis have been able to agree on a common orthography.

Although there is only an official recommendation that Sámi pupils in Finland ought to be instructed in their mother tongue as far as possible, most schools in the Sámi area have arranged teaching in Sami during the nine-year period of compulsory education. Sámi is also taught in the senior high school and it was included in the external Matriculation Examination for the first time in 1980. The Scandinavian Sámi Conference is working consistently to go beyond such "voluntary" recognition of the language rights of Sámis and make the Sámi language a statutory official language (National Board of General Education, 1981).

3. Bilingualism in Finland

In this chapter the emphasis will be on the Swedish-speaking Finns. There are two main reasons for this approach: they are much more commonly bilingual than are Finnish speakers, and there exists a substantial body of research only on the former group.

3.1. Emergence of Self-classified Language Groups

Language groups were created as social units by the national awakening in the 1800's. Conditions for classifying the Swedish-speakers as a group were created by the emergence of Fennomans (advocates of the Finnish-speaking culture) and Svecomans (advocates of the Swedish-speaking culture). Before that the links between the different Swedish-speaking provinces had not been especially close and there had been no crystallized sense of identity. The Swedish Folk Party, officially established in 1906, successfully combined the interests of the two distinct elements of the Swedish-speaking population: the urban "cultured" groups and the rural groups. The importance of the monlingually Swedish rural areas with their own popular culture was stressed. Even a sizable part of the Swedish-speaking workers have traditionally voted for the clearly predominantly middle-class, and to a lesser extent upper-class, Swedish Folk Party. The Swedish-speaking population has clearly become more middle-class since the beginning of the present century, measured in terms of their occupational position. The small upper class in Finland still has distinctly more Swedish-speakers than Finnish-speakers.

The second stage of the language feud in the 1920's and 1930's, during which the new "Fennomans" used the slogan "make Finland Finnish" and advocated delegating Swedish to local use, helped to cement the philosphy of "one nation with two nationalities" and "patriotism and Swedish identity" among the Swedish-speaking population of Finland. The Swedish-speaking population in Finland is by international standards generally judged to be unusually strongly anchored to its native country. Sweden is a neighbor but Finland is the home. Finland is their native country and Swedish is their native language. This is manifested in the current usage: in both Swedish and Finnish, they are referred to literally as "Finland-Swedes" (finlandsvenskar, suomenruotsalaiset) or perhaps in better English "Swedish-Finns". In Swedish there is also a term "finländare" used to refer to a citizen of Finland when no distinction is being made with regard to his or her mother tongue. Thus the Swedish language in particular has

come to possess a terminology which makes it possible to make subtle socio-linguistic references, which are not easy to render in English.

Language usage, thus, is an important indicator of how linguistic groups classify themselves and how they perceive their identity. The Constitution (1919) of Finland calls Finnish and Swedish the "national languages" of the republic and refers to the two language groups as "populations". Between the two world wars, the Swedish-speaking population was usually referred to as "nationality". The term "minority" entered the common usage in the literature of the 1970's. The term "nationality" is seldom used in these days. In practice, as Allardt and Starck (1981) note, the position of Swedish in Finland has changed more and more clearly towards that of a minority language. This is reflected in the fact that while most Swedish-speakers are now bilingual, only a small part of Finnish-speakers are fluent in Swedish. Thus, Allardt and Starck conclude that the term "minority" appears to be both appropriate and useful in describing Finland-Swedes. This view is shared by Reuter (1981).

3.2. Quantitative Trends in Bilingualism

In 1980 there were 399 unilingually Finnish administrative districts of local government, 17 bilingual districts with Finnish majority, 22 bilingual districts with Swedish majority and 25 unilingually Swedish districts, 16 of which are on the autonomous and constitutionally unilingual Åland Islands. Bilingualism has become more and more an urbanized phenomenon since the beginning of this century. The majority of the urban Swedish-speakers in Finland now live in bilingual districts (mostly towns and cities).

Helsinki offers an interesting case. Since the middle 1800's, bilingualism was more common among the working people: it was characteristic of popular culture, shown in the borrowing of words and phrases in Helsinki slang. Since about the 1950's the Swedish-speaking intelligentsia has also become more clearly oriented towards bilingualism.

In 1950, 83% of Swedish-speakers in Helsinki reported that they were bilingual while the corresponding figure for Finnish-speakers was 33%. Since that time the extent of bilingualism is assumed to have increased among the former but decreased distinctly among the latter. In 1950, about 46% of Swedish-speakers in the whole country reported themselves to be bilinguals, while only about 8% of Finnish-speakers did the same (Table 5).

3.3. Sociological Patterns of Bilingualism in Finland

3.3.1. Education

Finland-Swedes are among the few European minorities that have always been able to have their education in their own language from kindergarten to the doctorate (Allardt and Starck, 1981, p. 217). Primary schools were established relatively early in the Swedish-speaking regions and helped to standardize language usage and to promote communication between dialects. In many ways, the schools have become the institutions that are the most genuinely "Swedish" for the majority of Finland-Swedes. Allardt and Starck suggest that the choice of the school, which also means the choice of the language of instruction, finally has a decisive influence on whether the children of linguistically mixed marriages develop a predominantly Finnish or Swedish identity. Thus it is not surprising that, in spite of the fact that 91% of monolingually Swedish families put their children in Swedish-speaking schools, it is a matter of concern for the minority in Helsinki that 52% of bilingual families have chosen Finnish-medium schools (Table 9).

3.3.2. Marriage and Home Language

Unlike the gypsy minority, the Swedish-speaking population does not have any strict social norms concerning marriage. Whereas endogamy is the rule among the Finnish gypsies, most Swedish-speakers in Helsinki marry across the language line. This is somewhat more common among Swedish-speaking men than women (see Table 6). This may be explained partly by the fact that Swedish-speakers on the average have had and still continue to have a slightly higher social position. Since traditionally the social status of the family has been determined by the husband's occupation and social position, a Swedish-speaking man can marry more easily a Finnish-speaking woman without jeopardizing his social position. This social explanation is also reinforced by the fact that, since women assume their husbands' names after marriage, only Finnish-speaking women - not men - have been able to get a potentially prestigious family name by marriage. In spite of the fact that linguistically mixed marriages are common, Swedish-speaking people followed the endogamous pattern six times more often than could be expected if marriages were to follow statistical chance patterns (Table 7). Linguistic endogamy has traditionally been more common among higher social groups.

Since linguistically mixed marriages are so common among the Swedish-speaking population, the question of the home language and the choice of the school become very important problems. As Table 8 shows, 90% of monolingually Swedish families use only Swedish. Almost half of linguistically mixed marriages (46%) use only Finnish. This contrasts dramatically with the proportion of those mixed families which use only Swedish (12%). The approximate proportions are 65 vs 35 in favor of Finnish in bilingual families. It is evident that the family's social position has a clear impact on the choice of the home language in addition to the general language environment. When the wife of the bilingual family had graduated from the senior high school, 47% of children were registered as Swedish-speaking in 1970. This compares with 22% when the wife had only attended the compulsory school. Linguistically mixed marriages are more common among lower social groups and most of the children of such families become Finnish-speakers (Allardt and Starck, 1981, p. 268).

3.3.3. Social Institutions and Patterns of Social Interaction

As it will have appeared from the above discussion, the maintenance of the Swedish language has been supported by a whole network of institutional arrangements. The official status of the language is guaranteed in the Constitution. There is a full-fledged educational system from kindergarten to university. There are both electronic and traditional mass-media available as well as publishing companies. There are also a host of voluntary associations ranging from a political party representing the interests of the minority to various kinds of social and cultural organizations. Contacts with such institutions support the attitude that it is worth working for the preservation of the language. Allardt and Starck suggest that the facts concerning the position of Finland-Swedes lend support to the theory that social organization is an essential part of the existence of minorities.

It is possible, as Allardt and Starck point out, that the fact that there exists such a network of social institutions in Swedish has made it possible for the Swedish-speaking minority to have such close contacts with the Finnish-speaking majority. Thus the Swedish-speaking group in Helsinki is a remarkably open, not closed, minority (see Tables 10 and 11). The same is true to a somewhat lesser degree of other Swedish-speaking regions. The fact that their language is officially recognized, that they can have education in their own language, can fulfill their social needs by means of a network of social institutions and thus have a fair chance of developing a clear social identity, combined

with the self-evident gains of being able to use the language of the majority create favorable conditions for voluntary bilingualism, as opposed to bilingualism imposed upon the minority to escape discriminatory treatment. Thus, for the majority of Finland-Swedes fluent bilingualism is becoming a natural way of life. For the younger generation this creates no problems. Some of the older generation may fear that that is a stepping-stone towards continued erosion of the vitality of Swedish in Finland (Reuter, 1981).

Finland-Swedes present an interesting case of a linguistic minority. Statistics and a number of studies in the domains of history, sociology, linguistics, political history, literature, etc., make Finland-Swedes an exceptionally well documented minority. Research in their conditions is also well institutionalized so it can be expected that Finland-Swedes will continue to provide interesting data to the study of linguistic minorities and bilingualism.

4. Language Teaching Policy in Finland

4.1. Quantitative Trends in the Study of Various Languages

As the timetables in Table 1 indicate, the other national language (in the case of Finnish-speaking students, Swedish), German and Russian were taught as "long language courses" (i.e., starting in the early grades of the lower secondary school) during the 19th century. English was first offered in 1883 in the non-classical gymnasium as a "short language course" (i.e., starting during the first grade of the upper secondary school). In 1914 English could be studied as an optional subject from the third grade of the lower secondary school. The number of weekly lessons was the lowest possible, one lesson a week. In 1918 English became a regular subject in the girls' secondary school and it could be studied as an alternative to French from grade 4 onwards. English entered the boys' secondary schools and the coeducational secondary schools (which was the dominant school type) in 1941. From that time onwards, the official terminology referred to Swedish as the "other national language" and to all other modern languages as the "first modern language", the "second modern language", and the "third modern language".

It took about 20 years for English to surpass German after it became officially recognized as one of the regular modern languages in 1941. Many small schools, and most schools in Finland have always been and continue to be small, could not offer a choice. Thus still in the 1950's English was not offered in many schools, and the choice of a school often meant also a choice of one's first modern language. In those schools, mainly bigger schools in town, where a choice was available, English soon became so popular that principals more or less had to pressure some students to "choose" German. Around 1960 English surpassed German as Table 12 indicates. When the lower secondary school was phased out in the 1970's and merged with the primary school to form the new comprehensive school, the percentage of English being studied as the first language was over 90%. This trend is also illustrated by statistics about the external Matriculation Examination (Table 15).

Foreign language teaching started spreading to the primary schools in the mid 1960's, when a syllabus became available and directives concerning class size, grading, teacher qualifications, etc., were issued. Although the arrangement of foreign language teaching was not made obligatory, in three years practically all communities had started to provide such instruction. At first, Swedish was the most frequently studied language (in 1963-1964, 63%) but in a

few years English obtained a dominant position (in 1967-1968, 74%). When the primary school and the lower secondary school were merged to form a new comprehensive school, which was gradually introduced into the whole country by the end of the 1970's, English had obtained a decisively dominant position as the first foreign language (see Table 16).

Although several languages can be studied as the first language and although it is officially stated that only the other national language is a compusory subject for all students in the compusory school, English in practice has become the clearly dominant first foreign language among Finnish-speaking students. Swedish then, because of the above-mentioned statutory requirement, is equally clearly the dominant second language. German is the dominant third language, with French and Russian far behind. This means that Russian and French, then, are most frequently studied in the upper secondary school as an elective fourth language by those students who specialize in learning foreign languages and spend close to 45% of all class time on studying languages.

4 2. Developments in Language Teaching Policy

Foreign language teaching has been the subject of continuous discussion from the beginning of the establishment of modern secondary schools. One of the pioneers of Finnish, J. V. Snellman, complained in 1855 about the "heavy foreign language program" and about the poor standards achieved. Similarly, the proponents of mother tongue teaching have for a long time deplored the status of their subject and asserted that Finland is "the country with the fewest lessons for mother tongue teaching in the world." Many, if not most, other subject associations are making similar claims and demanding more time on the timetable.

The growing domination of English did not pass without notice. Concern about the fate of other foreign languages led to the setting up of a national commission, which was to make a survey of the extent of the teaching of "less frequently studied foreign languages" in Finland and to make recommendations about improving the situation, especially concerning the teaching of Russian. The Commission submitted its report to the Ministry of Education in 1972. It recommended that French, German, and Russian should be studied as the first foreign language in larger cities, which were specifically singled out. It also recommended setting up several new foreign-language schools, where the instruction is totally or partially in a foreign language. Some other similar suggestions were put forward. Many of its suggestions led to concrete improve-

ments, e.g., state support for the preparation of new teaching materials for the teaching of Russian, Latin and Lappish (Sámi).

Foreign languages and mathematics have always had the reputation of being difficult subjects. They were the main reason for the fact that about 8% of all students in the secondary school repeated a grade each year in the 1960's and close to 20% of all students had to do make-up work in the summer and pass a test in order to be promoted to the next grade. About 15% of students usually failed in the Matriculation Examination during the first try. Thus, foreign languages have always been a matter of concern for students, teachers and educational authorities.

The reputation of foreign languages being difficult subjects was definitely one of the main reasons why the proponents of the comprehensive school advocated the policy of only one compulsory modern language. This posed the great problem: which language would that be. English was clearly becoming more and more popular so, as far as Finnish-speaking students were concerned, the position of Swedish was clearly threatened. The matter was argued fiercely for quite a while, but no agreement was reached. The compromise was reached when there was a cabinet crisis and the Swedish Folk Party held the balancing wheel. Making Swedish (or more generally speaking, the other national language) obligatory was the Party's precondition for joining the coalition government. Thus the political situation in the country played a decisive role in that important decision of language policy. Subsequent debates about streaming kept foreign language teaching in the comprehensive school very much in the forefront of educational politics. There were also debates about whether students ought to have a second foreign language in the new upper secondary school, which needed reorganization in order to ensure articulation between it and the preceding comprehensive school. There were also plans underway concerning changes in the teaching of foreign languages in the vocational schools and the university. The situation was very fluid.

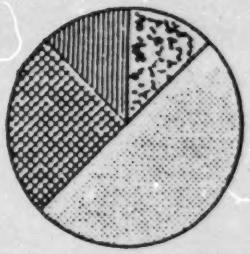
It was finally recognized that something needed to be done to provide a firmer basis for decisions concerning the teaching of foreign languages at all levels of education. As is customary in Finland, a national commission was set up at the end of 1976 to prepare a proposal for arranging the teaching of foreign languages. The present writer was one of the secretaries of the commission, which was officially called "Committee on Language Teaching Policy." Its unanimous report was submitted to the Ministry of Education in early 1979.

The Committee made a thorough statistical survey of trends in the teaching of foreign languages. In order to assess the need of different languages the Committee reviewed all needs assessment studies carried out in Finland and major studies in several other countries. It also reviewed the use of different languages in international organizations and Finland's economic and cultural ties with other countries. On the basis of these surveys and taking into account the overall educational and cultural policy of the nation, the Committee made a proposal for a long-term language teaching policy in Finland and defined the criteria that any such policy ought to fulfill.

The Committee recommended that all Finnish citizens, irrespective of their mother tongue, should in the future have some knowledge of the other national language and one foreign language. Those who have chosen other than English as their first foreign language should always have some knowledge of English also. Thus English would be studied by all students. The Committee suggested that about 30% of the population should also have knowledge of German and the same proportion would know Russian. French ought to be known by about 15% to 20% of the population. The number of languages would vary as well as the level of knowledge (see Figure 1). On the average each person would know 2.5 languages. This average would be reached so that everybody would have studied at least two languages but some students would have studied up to four languages.

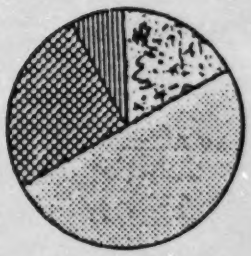
The Committee stated that its quantitative and qualitative targets would best be achieved by increasing the number of pupils who study languages other than English as their first language. From the Finnish-speaking students, 70% would read English as their first language, about 15% Swedish, about 5% to 7% German, about 5% to 7% Russian, and 2% to 3% French. This would mean that from an average age group of some 60,000 students, about 42,000 would read English and 18,000 students some other language (instead of some 55,800 and 4,200, respectively, at the present time). In order to achieve such a better balance, the Committee proposed that the number of languages offered as the first language ought to be geared to the size of the community. Communities with a population of 100,000 or more should offer five languages, those with a population of at least 50,000 should offer four languages, and communities with a population of at least 20,000 should offer a choice of three languages.

Thus it is obvious that the recommendations of the Finnish committee are



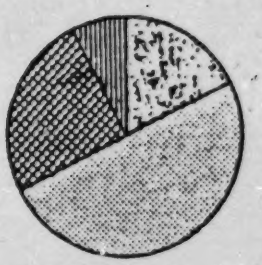
Swedish about 100 %[1)]

10–15 % very good
50 % good
25 % satisfactory
10–15 % passable



Finnish about 100 %[2)]

15–25 % very good
50 % good
25 % satisfactory
5–10 % passable

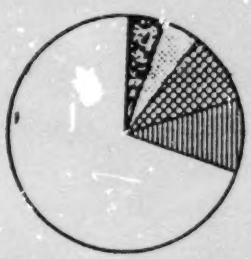


English about 100 %

15–20 % very good
50 % good
25 % satisfactory
5–10 % passable

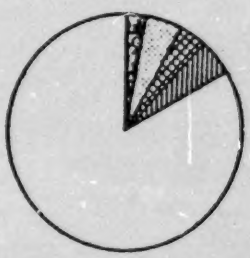
German about 30 %

5–10 % very good
5 % good
10 % satisfactory
5–10 % passable



Russian about 30 %

5 % very good
5 % good
10 % satisfactory
10 % passable



French about 15–20 %

2–3 % very good
5 % good
3–5 % satisfactory
5 % passable

1) The target percentages for Swedish concern the Finnish speaking population.

2) The target percentages for Finnish refer to the Swedish speaking population.

= very good knowledge
= good knowledge
= satisfactory knowledge
= passable knowledge
= no knowledge

FIGURE 1. Quantitative and Qualitative Targets for Foreign Language Teaching in Finland According to the Committee for Language Teaching Policy (Kieliohjelmakomitean mietintö, 1979).

clearly more detailed and specific than those of the President's Commission in the United States. In spite of its efforts to find out if similar work had been carried out or was being carried out in other countries, the Finnish Committee was not aware of the existence of the President's Commission - another example of the quality of information exchange in the world.

5. Some Aspects of English in Finland

5.1. English in the Educational System

English has now become the dominant language in the Finnish school system, in fact, so much so that, as mentioned before, a national commission was set up in the mid-1970's to make a proposal for safeguarding the learning of some other important languages of wider communication. Almost all students will study at least eight years of English and those who go to the university will have had ten years of English. A substantial part of the textbooks used at more advanced levels in the university is written in Enlgish. Thus English has acquired a strong position in Finland's educational system.

One way of conceptualizing the position of English in the Finnish school system is to see how much time students spend learning it. Since more than 90% of Finnish-speaking students read English as their first foreign language, we will assume for the sake of simplicity that there is only one system operating. English is, then, studied for seven years in the comprehensive school (starting in grade 3 at the age of 9), typically two lessons a week, which amounts to a total of some 600 lessons or some 450 clock hours. This is 7.1% of all class time available in the comprehensive school. A total of 11.7% of all class time is spent on learning foreign languages in the comprehensive school. By the end of the upper secondary school students have had a total of about 850 lessons or some 635 clock hours of English. This is 7.0% of all class time. The fact that students study two or more other foreign languages in addition to English means that 15% of all class time has been spent studying foreign languages when the students graduate from the upper secondary school.

The study of foreign languages is back-loaded so that during the first four years when foreign languages are studied the proportion is 7.8%. During the fifth through seventh years foreign languages take 16% to 20% of all class time, and during the eighth through tenth years the proportion is 30% to 45% of all class time depending on whether the students choose to study an optional foreign language or not. The proportion of English throughout this ten year

period is 7.8%, 8.8%, and 8.0% respectively. Thus, with the exception of the first two years of schooling, when no foreign languages are studied, the Finnish-speaking student spends about 8% of all class time studying English, which is almost half of the total time allocated to the study of all foreign languages.

How does the study of English in Finland compare with other countries? This is not easy to answer exactly. On the basis of the Council of Europe survey around 1970 and the IEA international study of the teaching of English in ten countries, it can be said that in Finland the share of the first foreign language (mainly English) out of all calss time is below average. On the other hand, since all Finnish students study two languages and about 50% study three languages, the proportion of all class time devoted to the study of all foreign languages is among the highest in the world. Of European countries, probably only Luxembourg allocates more time to foreign languages than Finland.

Foreign languages have traditionally been taught in some lines in the vocational schools (e.g., business schools, hotel and catering) but this has not been uniform. According to the new system all students continue studying the other national language and at least one foreign language in all lines. In Finland, the knowledge of foreign languages is increasingly being recognized as an important part of occupational competence.

The recent degree reform in higher education also meant, among other changes, that foreign languages will be continued at universities and students will have to pass an examination in one or two languages. All universities have recently established Language Centers to implement this new system.

The language in which doctoral dissertations are written is one way of estimating the position of different languages in a country. A small-scale survey carried out by the author in some faculties in different Finnish universities showed that, since its establishment in the 1960's, of the 52 Ph.D. theses accepted by the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä, 82.7% have been written in English, 15.4% in German, and 1.9% in Finnish. Of the 342 dissertations approved by the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Turku since 1947, 84.8% have been written in English, 12.0% in Finnish, and 3.2% in German. Most of the dissertations in the Faculty of Physical Education (University of Jyväskylä) have also been published in English (about 67%). In areas which are more nationally oriented (Finnish history, education, Finnish literature, etc.), most of the dissertations

are written in Finnish. Of the dissertations approved by the Faculty of the Humanities of the University of Jyväskylä, 48.5% have been written in Finnish, 24.2% in German, 12.1% in English, 9.1% in French, and 6.1% in Swedish. The dissertations written in Finnish were mainly about Finnish history and literature and the rest dealt with some linguistic topics related to the respective languages. By way of generalization we can state that in "hard sciences" most of the doctoral dissertations in Finland are now published in English. In humanities and behavioral sciences English is also becoming more and more frequently used but Finnish is mostly used in areas which deal specifically with Finnish culture.

5.2. Level of Achievement in English in Finland

How well do students learn English in the Finnish schools? The IEA international study (Lewis and Massad, 1975; Takala and Saari, 1979; Saari and Takala, 1980) show that if we consider only the students in the lower secondary school, and exclude the students in the civic school, the achievement of Finnish students was about average in reading and listening comprehension and above average in speaking and writing. If the civic school students are included (although English was a new subject with no traditions and was not studied with the same seriousness), the average achievement of the Finnish 14-year-olds is much below average. The performance of Finnish 18-year-olds (preuniversity students) was above average: out of ten countries, their rank was first in grammar, second in writing and listening comprehension, third in speaking and fourth in reading comprehension.

The above description indicates relative performance. It does not say very much about what students can do in English. That is a common problem in all testing and measurement. It is easy to obtain scores but much more difficult to say what the scores mean in terms of ability to function in the language. This unsatisfactory state of affairs was one reason why the present author decided in 1975 to try to get more accurate and informative data about students' knowledge of English. Since it is difficult to obtain such "absolute" information, it was decided that it would be advisable to start with something which is possible to define relatively accurately: vocabulary. Preliminary analyses indicate that comprehensive school students in the lowest set (about 22% of all students) had an average active English vocabulary of about 300 active words (after 8.5 years and after some 600 lessons or 450 hours); students in

the intermediate set (some 42% of students) had an average vocabulary size of some 800 active words, and students in the highest set (about 36% of all students) knew about 1450 words actively. It is still problematic what students can do in Enlgish with such a vocabulary size, but at least the information is generalizable to the whole school system and it is specific. If such information were available from other countries as well, it would be much easier to compare relative achievement in English.

5.3. Exposure to English in Out-of-school Contexts

The greatest exposure to English in Finland is through the television, which started spreading in the early 1960's. A substantial part of all films and TV serials are either British or American. With the exception of some programs meant for children and some documentaries, which use a narrator, dubbing is not used. The original soundtrack is preserved and sub-titles are used to translate what is said. Thus every Finn is daily exposed to hearing English on the television. Many of the TV characters are as well known in Finland as in the United States or Britain. This is something quite unprecedented and its sociological, as well as linguistic, impact deserves to be studied in detail.

Another source of exposure to English is through music, especially pop music among the youth. It is almost totally dominated by Anglo-Saxon models to the extent that most pop music groups have English names and sing mostly in English and write their own lyrics in English. Again, this is a relatively new development and its long-term impact should be of interest to sociologists and linguists alike.

5.4. English in Contact with Finnish

English is currently having the greatest impact on Finnish. Earlier German, Swedish and to a lesser extent Russian gave several loan words to Finnish. Many of them have become so totally incorporated into the language that only a linguist knows that they are loan words. This is not true of English, which has started to make a definite impact only after World War II and more intensively in the 1960's.

One of the greatest sources of English influence on Finnish (so-called Anglicisms) is the mass media. A substantial proportion of international news is translated from English in a hurry and, because the languages differ markedly in their grammatical structure, English syntax is often imposed on

the Finnish sentence structure. The translators who make the Finnish sub-titles to the predominantly American and British films and serials shown on the two nation-wide TV channels are even harder pressed, when they have to compress the speech considerably. In spite of their considerable skill it is easy to pinpoint several Anglicisms in every program.

No area is so clearly dominated by Anglo-American influence as the pop culture of the youth. The use of Anglicisms in the pop magazines for the youth is the rule rather than an exception. Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1981) state that some of the Anglicisms have entered the language with new concepts but most of them are used as a stylistical device to signal a certain register. Most of the pop music groups sing most of the time in English and to a lesser extent in Finnish. Allardt and Starck (1981) note that Swedish-speaking bands practically never perform in their mother tongue and wonder what effects will be seen in the near future when popular culture is not practiced or experienced in one's own language. The Swedish-speaking youth thus have to follow Finnish models or Swedish models from Sweden or the international Anglo-Saxon models when they wish to express themselves in the area of popular culture.

By the same token, as English is making itself clearly felt in the syntax and vocabulary of Finnish mass media, Finnish makes itself felt in the English used by Finns. English is not normally used for communication within the country although it is likely that in the near future most Finnish-speakers would prefer to use English in active Scandinavian contacts rather than Swedish. No systematic studies have been made to date, so only some points of an anecdotal nature can be made.

One of the greatest difficulties Finns have with English pronunciation concerns stress and intonation. Finnish does not have a rising intonation pattern. The main stress is almost always on the first syllable. When the sound patterns of the two languages are also quite different, it is not easy to learn the English prosody and the flow of speech. Since Finnish pronunciation follows quite closely the spelling, it is also difficult to overcome the influence of writing and use weak forms and unstressed syllables.

Finnish grammatical patterns also deviate from English on many points and cause interference. The following are typical examples, taken by the present author from student compositions (but they are typical of oral Finnish-English as well):

I saw them in the street but they spoke not to me.

Where put you my new shoes?

Anyone hasn't seen it.

I like very much ice cream. (word order)

Father likes jazz but no rock'n roll.

Another typical pattern of interference is prepositions. Finns often say, following the Finnish patterns, e.g.:

I read it from yesterday's newspaper.

He turned to red.

Will you wait me?

Open the book from page 11.

It tastes from bitter.

He didn't answer to the question.

That new coat suits to you very well.

I don't believe to it.

She smiled to me.

That made me to very angry.

I'll arrive to London at 9.

6. Conclusion

Finland offers an interesting case study of a nation trying to come to grips with the realities of language needs both within the nation itself and in contacts with the rest of the world. Being a small and culturally quite a homogeneous country, in spite of its two officially recognized languages and its officially not recognized Sámi language minority, Finland has tried to respond to its language needs by systematic planning. Being also a centralized country, with a national policy in many areas of culture, the chances of implementing systematic plans are better than in larger countries, especially if they have a federal system and a large degree of decentralized decision-making. It will have appeared from the above, however, that in spite of attempts at rational planning, different interest groups have at critical times managed to influence developments more than their relative sizes would give rise to assume.

An explosion in international contacts and international communication, and the technology to record and transmit images and sound have caused a profound change in the linguistic situation in Finland. From an essentially rural society in the periphery of Europe with limited contacts with the rest of the world, Finland has become a modern and relatively affluent society (17th in terms of national wealth according to UN statistics) with lively contacts with the outside world. The growing contacts have essentially meant the growing influence of English and the growing impact of Anglo-American cultural models. This trend has been so distinct that at present, and more so in the future, the linguistic situation in Finland is such that most Finnish-speaking people are more comfortable in using English rather than Swedish and most Swedish-speaking Finns will be trilingual with a good command of both Finnish and English. Whether one likes it or not, Swedish is fighting for its position as a vital and viable language in Finland, and German, Russian and French are, even with an official support of the government, similarly working hard to carve a niche in the language teaching program and will have a hard time doing so.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1. Number of Lessons per Week Devoted to Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Teaching in the Secondary School in Finland

Year when curriculum was introduced	Type of school	Language	Number of classes per week (by grade)								Total
			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	
1873	Classical Gymnasium	Mother tongue	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	11
		Latin	7	7	7	7	6	6	5	4	49
		Russian	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	28
		Other national language	-	3	3	2	2	2	4	4	20
		German	-	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	15
		Total	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	224
1883	"Real" Gymnasium	Mother tongue	4	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	14
		Other national language	8	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	28
		Russian	-	1/2	3	3	3	3	4	4	21/22
		German	-	4/5	4	3	2	1	1	1	16/17
		French	-	-	-	-	4	4	2	2	12
		English	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	6
		Total	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	240
1891	"Real" Gymnasium	Mother tongue	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	19
1893	Classical Gymnasium	Mother tongue	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	18
		Other national language	1.6	4	3	2	2	2	1	1	38
		Russian	-	4	3	3	3	3	4	4	37
		German	-	-	4	4	4	3	3	2	32
		English	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
		French	-	-	-	-	(2)	5	4	5	14/16
1901	Classical and Real Gymnasium	Mother tongue	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
1903	Classical and Real Gymnasium	Mother tongue	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	18

Year when curriculum was introduced	Type of school	Language	Number of classes per week (by grade) 1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	Total
1906	Classical and Real Gymnasium	Mother tongue	5	4	2	2	2		3	3	3	24
		Other national language	5	4	3	2	2		2	2	2	22
		Russian	-	4	4	4	3		3	3	3	24
		German	-	-	4	4	4		3	3	3	20
		French	-	-	-	-	-		4	4	4	12
1914	Classical Gymnasium	Mother tongue	5	3	3	2	2		2	2	2	21
		Other national language	4	3	2	2	2		2	2	2	19
		Russian	-	5	5	4	4		5	5	6	34
		Latin	-	-	-	-	-		6	6	6	18
		Greek	-	-	-	-	-		4	4	4	12
		English (opt.)	-	-	1	1	1		1	1	1	6
1914	Gymnasium with different lines/ sides	Mother tongue	5	3	2	2	3		2	2	2	21
		Other national language	4	2	2	2	2		2	2	2	19
		Russian	-	5	4	4	4		5	5	6	34
		French	-	-	-	-	-		4	4	4	12
		English (opt.)	-	-	1	1	1		1	1	1	6
1915	Gymnasium for girls	Mother tongue	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	27
1918	Classical Gymnasium	Mother tongue	5	3	3	3	3		3	3	3	26
		Other national language	4	3	3	2	2		3	3	3	26
		German	-	4	4	4	3		4	3	3	25
		French/Russian	-	-	-	-	-		4	4	4	12
		Latin	-	-	-	-	-		6	6	6	18
		English (opt.)	-	-	-	1	1		1	1	1	5
1918	Gymnasium for girls	Mother tongue	4	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	26
		Other national language	4	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	21
		German	-	4	4	3	3	3	4	3	3	27
		French/English	-	-	-	4	3	3	3	3	3	19

Year when curriculum was introduced	Type of school	Language	Number of classes per week (by grade) 1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	Total
1941	Gymnasium for boys and Coeducational Gymnasium	Mother tongue	4	3	4	3	4		3	3	3	27
		Other national language	4	3	3	3	2		2	2	2	21
		1st foreign language	-	5	5	4	3		4	4	4	29
		Latin/2nd foreign language	(language line) -	-	-	-	-		5	6	4	15
		3rd foreign language	-	-	-	-	-		3	2	3	8
1941	Gymnasium for girls	Mother tongue	4	3	4	3	2	2	3	3	3	27
		Other national language	4	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	21
		German	-	5	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	30
		English	-	-	-	5	3	2	3	3	3	19
		Latin/ French	(language line) -	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	12
1948	Coeducational Gymnasium and Gymnasium for boys	Mother tongue	4	3	4	3	4		3	3	3	27
		Other national language	4	3	3	3	2		3	3	3	28
		1st foreign language	-	5	5	4	3		4	4	3	28
		Latin/2nd foreign language	-	-	-	-	-		5	5	5	15
		3rd foreign language	-	-	-	-	-		3	3	3	9
		Music/English (opt.)	-	-	-	-	-		2	2	2	6
		Total	32	32	35	36	36		35	35	35	275
1948	Gymnasium for girls	Mother tongue	4	3	4	4	2	2	3	3	3	27

Upper Secondary School
(years 10, 11, 12)

Year when curriculum was introduced	Language	Number of classes per week (by grade) 1	2	3
1969	Mother tongue	3	3	3
	Other national language	3	3	3
	1st foreign language (English/German/Russian)	4	4	4
	2nd foreign language (English/French/German/ Russian)	4	4	4
	3rd foreign language (Latin/English/German; language line only)	5	5	5
	Mother tongue (optional special course)	1	1	2
	Total	34/38	34/38	34/38
1975 (10-day schedule)	Mother tongue	5	6	6
	Other national language	5	5	5
	1st foreign language (a)	7	6	6
	2nd foreign language (b)	7	6	7
	3rd foreign language (c)	7	6	7
	Minimum number of lessons	55	55	55
	Maximum number of lessons	64	64	64

(a) First foreign language: English, French, German or Russian. If the students have studied the other national language (Swedish) from grade 3 in the comprehensive school and the first foreign language from grade 7, they may have 10 periods of first foreign language during grade 6 as a separate group but are taught in grades 7 and 8 together with those students who started the first foreign language in grade 3 of the comprehensive school.

(b) Second foreign language: English, French, German or Russian. If the students have studied this language as an optional subject in grade 7 of the comprehensive school (or in the lower secondary school), they may have 6 periods during the first year, 5 lessons during the second year of the upper secondary school. During the final year they are to be taught together with those students who started the second foreign language only in the upper secondary school.

(c) Third foreign language: English, Latin, German or Russian. If Latin is taught, the National Board of General Education may give permission to teach it 8 - 9 - 8 periods in the upper secondary school. When the same foreign language is started as the second and third foreign language in the upper secondary school, the students are to be taught together.

TABLE 2. Number of Lessons per Week Devoted to Mother Tongue Teaching in the Compulsory School in Finland (Comprehensive School)

Year when curriculum was introduced	Language	Number of classes per week (by grade)								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1969	Mother tongue	8	8	4	4	6	5	2	3	2.5
	First L_2	-	-	2	2	2	3	2.5	2.5	2.5
	Second L_2 (a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2/ 4.5	1.5/ 4
	Third L_2 (opt.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
	Total	21	21	25	25	28	28	25	25	25
1975	Mother tongue	8	8	5	5	5	5	3	3	3
	First L_2	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
	Second L_2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	3
	Third L_2 (opt.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
	Total	21	21	25	25	26	26	30	30	30

(a) In the second L_2 (language which is not the student's mother tongue, whether this is the "other national language" or a "foreign language") there were two sets (streams): the short course had fewer periods than the long course. Choice of the long course was necessary if the student wished to continue studies in the upper secondary school or in certain lines of the vocational secondary sector.

Table 3. Size of Swedish speaking population in Finland, 1610 - 1979
(Source: Allardt & Starck, 1981, p. 107)

Year	Number	% of total population	Source
1610	70.000	17.5	Estimate
1749	87.200	16.3	Estimate
1815	160.000	14.6	Estimate
1880	294.900	14.3	Population register
1890	322.600	13,6	Population register
1900	349.700	12.9	Population register
1910	339.000	11.6	Population register
1920	341.000	11.0	Population register
1930	342.900	10.1	Population register
1940	354.000	9.5	Population register
1950	348.300	8.6	Census
1960	330.500	7,4	Census
1970	303.400	6.6	Census
1979	301.554	6.3	Census

Table 4. Bilingualism as percentage of total population in the largest cities in Finland from 1900 to 1950 (Source: Allardt & Starck, 1981, p. 129)

Among Finnish-speaking population	Helsinki	Turku	Viipuri	Tampere	Vaasa	Oulu	Pori
1900	29.6	17.6	8.5	6.0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A. [1]
1910	26.1	14.7	7.7	6.2	22.5	8.2	8.0
1920	33.7	19.9	12.0	8.6	32.2	9.4	11.4
1930	34.4	21.0	10.9	9.2	37.1	10.0	N.A.
1950	32.8	19.0	- [2]	9.6	35.1	11.8	9.1
Among Swedish-speaking population							
1900	42.1	51.8	72.5	66.1	N.A	N.A.	N.A.
1910	50.1	53.5	72.8	73.9	28.1	69.4	77.1
1920	70.8	76.2	89.6	81.8	51.3	81.o	86.1
1930	81.0	83.4	94.2	89.2	56.9	95.4	N.A.
1950	82.8	83.5	-	93.3	59.5	93.3	91.2
Among total population							
1900	35.3	27.2	15.2	9.4	N.A.	N A.	N.A.
1910	35.0	23.4	12.6	9.3	25.4	13.5	12 4
1920	46.8	31.6	16.2	11.4	41.2	12.6	16.0
1930	48.4	32,2	12.6	11.2	46.1	12.6	N.A.
1950	42.6	25.5	-	10.8	44.9	12.6	10.4

1) Information not available 2) Ceded to the Soviet Union in 1945

Table 5. Percentage of Swedish-speaking population in Finland in 1950 and spread of bilingualism by type of community in those provinces where there is Swedish-speaking population (Source: Allardt & Starck, 1981,p.13

	Swedish-speaking as percentage of total population	Bilinguals as percentage of	
		Finnish-speaking population	Swedish-speaking population
Whole country	8.6	7.7	45.8
Cities	13.0	19.9	70.6
Smaller towns	4.7	8.8	62.6
Rural communities	7.3	3.3	27.8
Province of Uusimaa (south-coast, around Helsinki)	25.2	25.3	60.7
Cities	22.4	33.4	76.5
Smaller towns	12.9	12.9	59.6
Rural communities	32.8	12.5	42.0
Province of Turku and Pori (south-western coast)	5.8	7.0	54.9
Cities	6.8	15.5	84.3
Smaller towns	21.1	15.4	54.1
Rural communities	4.8	3.4	39.4
Province of Ahvenanmaa (Åland Islands)	96.3	75.6	10.3
Cities	92.1	73.1	24.5
Rural communities	97.0	73.0	7.9
Province of Vaasa (western coast)	18.6	6.0	23.3
Cities	30.3	22.2	46.7
Smaller towns	1.2	8.6	82.7
Rural communities	16.9	3.1	13.8

Table 6. Percentage of Swedish speakers marrying Finnish speakers in Helsinki (Source: Allardt & Starck, 1981, p. 264)

Year	Men	Women	Total
1926	26.3	11.6	14.5
1932	29.5	25.8	27.7
1951	45.6	38.4	42.2
1965	65.5	53.3	60.3
1970	58.1	47.7	53.5
1976	68.3	55.2	62.9

Table 7. Marriages in Helsinki in 1976 in relation to hypothetical random choice of spouse (Source: Allardt & Starck, 1981, p. 265)

Husband's language	Wife's language	Real number (1)	Expected number (2)	Ratio(1:2)
Finnish	Finnish	2.968	2.904	1.02
Finnish	Swedish	95	159	0.60
Swedish	Finnish	166	230	0.72
Swedish	Swedish	77	13	5.92
Total		3.306	3.306	

Table 8. Home language by type of family in an interview study among Swedish speaki population in Helsinki (Source: Allardt & Starck, 1981, p. 266)

Home language	Monolingual family	Bilingual family	All families
Only Swedish	90%	12%	66%
Mostly Swedish	5%	6%	6%
Swedish and Finnish equally often	2%	16%	7%
Mostly Finnish	1%	19%	5%
Only Finnish	1%	46%	15%
No answer, some other language	1%	1%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%
	(394)	(181)	(575)

Table 9. Children's school language by type of family in an interview study among Swedish speaking population in Helsinki in 1977 (Source: Allardt & Starck 1981, p. 270)

Language of instruction in the school	Monolingual Swedish family	Bilingual family	All families
Swedish	91%	40%	76%
Finnish	4%	52%	18%
Both Swedish and Finnish	5%	8%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%
	(287)	(116)	(403)

Table 10. Language use patterns in Finland in a nationwide survey study in 1978 (Source: Allardt & Starck, 1981, p. 114)

Criterion	Finnish	Swedish	Other	Can't say	Total
Mother tongue	93.7%	6.3%	0.1%	0.0%	100.1%
Main language	93.9%	5,8%	0.1%	0.1%	99.9%
Language used as a child in talking to mother	93,3%	6,1%	0,6%	-	100,0%
Language used as a child in talking to father	92,5%	6,8%	0.7%	-	100,0%
Language preferred when taking to a doctor	94.2%	5,3%	0.4%	0,1%	100.0%
School language	92,2%	6.0%	1.8%	-	100.0%
Language at place of work	94,5%	4,8%	0,7%	-	100.0%
Language group one considers oneself to belong	93,2%	5,9%	0,5%	0.4%	100.0%

Table11. Use of Finnish and Swedish in different contexts among the Swedish-speaking population in Helsinki and Vaasa in 1977 (Source: Allardt & Starck,1981, p. 138-39)

Institutional Domain	Helsinki (912)				Vaasa (378)			
	Only Swedish %	Both %	Only Finnish %	Other response %	Only Swedish %	Both %	Only Finnish %	Other response %
1. School language	88	8	3	1	93	4	2	1
2. Childhood language	87	10	2	1	90	8	1	0
3. Home language during school age	86	12	1	1	90	9	1	0
4. Home language during later teens	84	14	11	2	88	9	1	1
5. Current home language	69	17	11	2	82	10	5	3
6. Language used with childhood friends	59	33	7	1	71	22	6	0
7 Language used with former schoolmates	55	43	2	0	69	29	3	0
8. Language of neihgborhood in childhood	48	42	10	1	66	28	6	0
9. Language of neighborhood in school-age	45	49	6	0	64	31	4	0
10. Language of area from which spouse chosen	41	22	13	24	52	20	5	22
11. Language of theater	41	43	10	6	67	19	3	10
12. Language used with friends in later teens	37	59	2	1	60	36	3	3
13. Language used with one's boss	37	27	27	9	47	25	13	14
14. Language used with insurance company	35	16	23	26	64	9	5	22
15. Language of neighborhood in later teens	32	61	5	2	50	45	4	1
16. Language of books read	27	40	3	29	51	21	2	22
17. Language used with friends	22	73	4	1	51	45	3	0
18. Language used with others at place of work	18	56	19	6	27	55	7	11
19. Language used in grocery store	15	38	45	3	59	27	9	4

Table 12. Percentage of students studying various languages as the first foreign language in the secondary school (from grade 2, age 12+) in Finland[+)]

Year	English	German	French	Latin	Russian	Total number of students
1962	56.9	42.6	0.1	0.3	0.1	194.098
1965	60.3	38.6	0.2	0.7	0.2	214.039
1970	78.9	20.2	0.2	0.5	0.2	267.956
1971	82.5	16.6	0.2	0.5	0.2	278.557
1972	85.9	13.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	277.376
1973	88.7	10.3	0.2	0.5	0.3	261.534
1974	90.7	8.4	0.2	0.4	0.3	218 406

+) Note: Since 1972 the lower secondary school was phased out and a comprehensive school was introduced.

Table 13. Percentages of students studying various languages as their second, third or fourth foreign language in the upper secondary school (age 15 - 18) in Finland

Year	English	German	French	Latin	Russian	Greek +)	Spanish +)	Italy +)	Hebrew +)	Total N
1962	59	87	15	24	1					43.91
1965	52	65	17	23	2					58.49
1970	37	73	18	14	5					78.04
1971	33	75	18	11	5					83.57
1972	27	75	18	9	7					88.41
1973	21	77	18	7	8					91.15
1974	15	77	17	5	10					92.76

+) Less than 0.3% for all these languages

Note: The percentages do not add up to 100 for each year since students had to start two new languages when they entered the upper secondary school, for instance, German and Latin.

Table 14. Percentage of students in the upper secondary school by type of language

Year	English		German		French		Russian		Latin		Total number of students
	1	2 or 3	1	2 or 3	1	2 or 3	1	2 or 3	1	2 or 3	
1975	88.8	11.0	10.4	80.4	0.2	18.3	0.2	10.7	0.4	4.4	92.736
1976	92.4	7.0	6.7	83.5	0.2	19.4	0.3	10.7	0.4	3.6	95.502
1977	94.8	4.8	4.4	85.9	0.2	19.9	0.4	10.8	0.4	2.8	99.775

Note: 1 means that the language has been started as the first foreign language, 2 and 3 mean that the language has been started as the second language or the third language. The columns of "1" add up to 100% for each year. The columns for "2 or 3" add up to more than 100% since students have to take two new languages. Note also that Swedish has not been entered in the table since all Finnish-speaking students have to study it. Usually it was introduced as the second language after English.

Table 15. Percentage of students taking taking the matriculation examination tests in different languages either as an obligatory test (a) or voluntary test (b) and combined a+b(c)

	English			German			French			Latin			Russian			Others
Year	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	c
1970	59	33	85	40	41	81	0.2	4.4	4.6	0.8	6.2	7.0	0.1	1.0	1.1	Less than 0.2%
1975	77	17	94	21	50	71	0.2	8.6	8.8	0.7	3.1	3.8	0.2	3.0	3.2	
1976	84	12	96	15	51	66	0.2	9.1	9.3	0.5	3.1	3.6	0.2	6.0	6.2	
1977	89	8	97	10	50	60	0.2	9.5	9.7	0.4	2.8	3.2	0.2	5.5	5.7	
1978	93	5	98	7	53	60	0.2	10.7	10.9	0.4	1.6	2.0	0.2	6.0	6.2	

Note: Swedish has not been entered into the table since all Finnish-speaking students have to take an obligatory test in Swedish.

TABLE 16. The comprehensive school students by the first and the second foreign language in 1975-79 (in percentage of a total of 458,297 students.

	First foreign language					
	English	Swedish	Finnish	French	German	Russian
1975	91.9	2.7	5.1	-	0.2	0.1
1976	92.9	2.2	4.6	-	0.2	0.1
1977	91.7	3.1	4.6	0.1	0.3	0.2
1978	90.9	3.6	4.6	0.1	0.5	0.3
1979	90.3	4.0	4.7	0.1	0.6	0.3

	Second foreign language					
	English	Swedish	Finnish	French	German	Russian
1975	11.3	87.5	1.2	-	-	-
1976	8.1	90.9	1.0	-	-	-
1977	6.5	92.7	0.8	-	-	-
1978	6.2	93.1	0.7	-	-	-
1979	6.8	92.5	0.7	-	-	-